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Human Events — YOUR WASHINGTON SERVICE

Vol. XVIII, No. 42 October 20, 1961 Section I — News

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Shape of Appeasement: Despite the closely guarded discretion surrounding the Kennedy-Gromyko talks, one ominous suggestion which the President made to the Russian envoy has undoubtedly given the latter "happy dreams." It should.

According to especially well-informed persons on Washington's Diplomatic Row, Kennedy said he wanted to have a talk with Khrushchev to propose as a basis for discussion a "zone of disengagement in Central Europe."

Specifically, what Kennedy meant was that West Germany, while permitted to have an army as a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, would not be allowed to have tactical atomic weapons; that is for artillery and infantry supporting weapons, as well as for tactical planes. But, as any military man must know, tactical atomic arms are essential for carrying on a modern conventional type of warfare against such overwhelming manpower odds as possessed by the USSR and its satellites.

Knowledge of this Kennedy idea—HUMAN EVENTS learns—soon reached Paris and Bonn. Advices from HUMAN EVENTS correspondents in those capitals are that both French President Charles de Gaulle and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reacted with dismay against the idea. They both said this means the "death" of NATO, for some years regarded by many as the "Western shield against Soviet military power."

De Gaulle said that, without a strong German army, NATO cannot possibly survive; that he does not want the German army reduced to the status of a "line of communications force."

Told of this extraordinary development, General Albert C. Wedemeyer, formerly the US Army's Chief Planner, said to HUMAN EVENTS: "Such a plan would render NATO practically impotent from a combat viewpoint. It is fallacious to consider the present NATO conventional forces as adequate to cope in conventional warfare with the 170 or more divisions available to the Soviets, unless the technological advantages enjoyed by Western nations—for example, atomic weapons—are made available to the latter's troops."

Generally, American military opinion agrees with de Gaulle, adding that this proposal would be accepted with alacrity by Khrushchev. For the Red Czar would thus be assured of clear military predominance in Europe.

Crucial By-Election: San Antonio, Texas, is agog on the eve of a congressional by-election, to be held November 4, in which a conservative Republican candidate is rated as a possible victor over a pro-Socialist Democrat. The latter is left-wing State Senator Henry B. Gonzalez, Texas Democratic wheelhorse, who is also a National Director of the Americans for Democratic Action, the Fabian Socialist organization which has captured key posts in the Kennedy Administration.

Gonzalez enjoys generous financial and organizational support from the ADA, as well as from the AFL-CIO and its shock troops—the well-heeled Committee on Political Education.

The Republican candidate is John W. Goode, Jr. A militant conservative, he is upholding the policies and principles of Republican John G. Tower, who won the sensational Texas senatorial by-election against heavy Democratic odds last May. Should Goode defeat Gonzalez, his victory would assume great national significance as an indication of a developing national revolt against the policies of the Kennedy Administration.

The San Antonio press, unfriendly to Goode, nevertheless concedes that his chances of success are "fifty-fifty." The GOP candidate is fighting hard, but is described as "desperately" in need of funds. Contributions should be sent to "Goode for Congress," 206 San Pedro Avenue, San Antonio 5, Texas.

On the International Grapevine: In Paris they say that a word Kennedy dropped to de Gaulle has given "le Grand Charles" a new idea. JFK reportedly told the French President that he (Kennedy) personally did not want to make an issue of

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Berlin, but that the American people did, and he feared painful repercussions if he failed to do so.

Thus de Gaulle became aware of a new factor in the international crisis: American public opinion, which takes a tougher line than the White House.

Coincidentally, it is noted that de Gaulle's Ambassador in Washington, Herve Alphand, will go to Yorktown, Virginia, this week to help celebrate the anniversary of Cornwallis' surrender (and the end of the Revolutionary War), due largely to the help rendered America by the French army and navy in 1781. A detachment of the French fleet participates in this week's ceremonies.

• Voices along Diplomatic Row in Washington claim that the British Embassy does not put any appeasement pressure on the State Department or the White House. They say, however, the "let's deal with Moscow" counsel comes directly from Downing Street to President Kennedy himself. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, they say, is in constant touch with the President by telephone and much of Kennedy's indecisiveness is prompted by appeasement advice from Macmillan.

• Willy Brandt, West German Socialist leader, balked by German voters in his bid to replace Adenauer as Chancellor, has now turned to appeasement. Diplomatic Row claims he's playing ball with American appeasement elements and privately boosts the White House idea of *de facto* recognition of the East German (Communist) government. Also, he tells American friends that Adenauer made a bad mistake by tying Germany to the intransigent de Gaulle; it would be much better, says Brandt, for Germany to play ball with London and Washington.

• If Khrushchev brings us to a "war-or-no-war" showdown on Berlin, will Britain serve notice on the US that she will not join us in war over that city? Some American authorities think so—and fear of such an eventuality remains a painful factor in White House considerations. From London, Conservative party sources concede that Macmillan may entertain such an idea; but they emphasize that, if he tries to take a run-out stand, his government will fall as a result of a Tory backbencher revolt. A tougher Tory combination would take over, they say, and would be committed to any unyielding Allied defense of Berlin.

• A distinguished British observer—with long knowledge of America and with many contacts here—last week wound up a country-wide survey of the US, sampling American opinion on Berlin. He told the editor of HUMAN EVENTS his conclusion, as follows: President Kennedy—should he make an appeasement settlement on Berlin—would be faced with a political revolt of great magnitude from the American grass roots.

Hard-Hitting Bill Miller: It is unusual, remark Capitol Hill observers, when a political party's chairman emerges as a patriotic—nay, even a bipartisan—statesman, willing to risk his own party's chances at the altar of national dedication. In recent weeks, as Congressman William E. Miller (R.-N.Y.) has attracted extraordinary nation-wide notice as a hard-hitting critic of JFK's handling of US foreign policy, Democratic demagogues have sought to dismiss him as merely a scheming Republican politico.

Hence, political kibitizers around Washington noted a very effective answer to that last week when Scripps-Howard reporter Jack Steele asked Miller whether the GOP might lose its seemingly "big issue" for the 1962 elections if Kennedy follows Miller's advice and genuinely stands and acts firm against Khrushchev on Berlin and on the admission of Red China to the United Nations. Miller conceded that such indeed might happen.

But the new GOP chairman shows no signs of abating his drumfire on JFK's "vacillating" foreign policy stance. Even if Kennedy does follow Republican advice and consequently wins prestige for checking Khrushchev's aggressions, Miller must know that the country is also aroused by the mess which the present Administration has made of the domestic field—its wild spending, favoritism for labor bosses, failure to stimulate industrial growth, etc.

Whatever else happens, these will be burning issues in next year's elections.

The fact is that Chairman Miller, with the experienced analytical mind of a veteran lawyer (no one in the House denies him that) and his familiarity with the European scene (he served on the Nuremberg trials staff), has studied the intricate angles of the Berlin situation and the implications of any appeasement on this question. He is known to be profoundly convinced that yielding to Khrushchev on Berlin would involve a massive defeat for the free world and a peril to the security of the United States.

Thus, Miller's forensic course, which Democratic politicos try to label "low party politics," is actually based not only on a realistic but also on a broad-gauged concept *pro bono publico*. He's the real constructive opposition the Administration needs.

Operation Katanga: United Nations efforts to bring under heel the orderly, Western-oriented government of Katanga and turn the breakaway province over to the Communist government of the Congo continue unabated—and with full support from Washington.

Last week reports from home and abroad indicated that small arms, ammunition, tanks, troop transports and jet bombers were streaming into the Congo to bolster United Nations forces, supposedly at truce with Katanga since September 21. Diplomatic observers fear the signs may mean that the UN army, with an estimated nine to ten thousand troops in Katanga, may yet be preparing another deadly assault against Tshombe's province—the one industrious, orderly and peaceful province in the Congo.

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It is noted with grave concern that the United States, which has supplied nearly three-quarters of the $100 million Congo operation, is in the forefront of those providing supplies to strengthen the UN's hand against Tshombe's pro-Western province.

According to an October 4 Associated Press dispatch filed from India, a spokesman for the Indian Defense Ministry claimed the US was in the process of transporting "50 tank crewmen" from India to the Congo. *La Libre Belgique*, one of the foremost Belgian newspapers which carried the AP dispatch on October 5, also said the United States would supply the tanks to UN forces.

• While the Kennedy Administration was fostering a build-up of UN forces in the Congo last week, in New York it put further clamps on the Katanga government by revoking the visa of Katanga's information officer, Michel Struelens. According to State Department press officer Joseph Reap, Struelens had violated his visa by acting as an "information officer" instead of as a "newsman." Yet a quick check with the visa office in the State Department reveals this story to be a total fabrication. Struelens, a visa office spokesman told HUMAN EVENTS, "definitely came in as an information officer."

The State Department's second line of defense, that the visa was revoked because "we don't recognize Katanga," seems a flimsy excuse since the Department has issued a visa to Abdelkader Chanderli, who heads the information service for the Algerian Front of National Liberation in New York, which represents the Communist-oriented rebels in Algeria.

Muzzling: An army major has charged that his ten-year career as an information officer has been halted because he was author of a vigorous anti-Communist training course for troops in Germany.

He is Major Arch Roberts, who wrote the Pro-Blue Program for General Edwin Walker. Roberts served with Walker in the 24th Infantry Division. He was transferred nine months ago to an army information office in New York. Only recently he was told to report to the medical corps at Ft. Lee, Virginia.

Roberts told the Chicago *Tribune*:

"There is no question in my mind that I am being removed from the branch in which I have worked for 10 years and shifted to the medical corps because of my authorship of that program. I am being pigeon-holed, just like General Walker, and for the same reasons."

Roberts may testify in the upcoming investigation of military muzzling, to be held by a subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee.

Nixon: GOP pros in Washington, while recognizing that Richard Nixon fumbled his campaign last fall, take heart for his success in next year's California gubernatorial election, by citing the example of Thomas E. Dewey of New York. The GOP Presidential candidate of 1948 "snatched defeat from the jaws of victory," as did Nixon in 1960. But, it is pointed out, he reflected on his mistakes of '48, ran for governor of New York in 1950 in a slashing, successful, no-holds-barred campaign and won. Many pros now expect Nixon to duplicate this Dewey recovery in the upcoming race for the Sacramento job.

However, other pros (some among the elder statesmen of the party) still maintain an attitude of reserve on Nixon's conduct of his campaign. They think Nixon has erred in his handling of the present "dog fight" with former Governor Goodwin Knight. Instead of repudiating the allegation that Nixon well-wishers sought to make a deal with Knight, in an effort to take the latter out of the primary in return for a promise of a big state job (should Nixon beat "Pat" Brown), Dick should have—it is argued—defended such an intra-party arrangement. He could have reminded the public that Eisenhower's managers in 1952 got the support of California Governor Earl Warren for Ike's nomination, in return for a promise to appoint Warren to the Supreme Court.

The deal was well known. Warren delivered the California delegation and got the job. Not much fuss was made about it all.

Commentator Paul Harvey, following this line of argument, has come out and called Nixon "politically *naif*." He remarks that there is always such "wheeling and dealing" in politics. He suggests that, when Knight fired his salvo at Nixon, the latter should have said publicly: "I was not aware that my representatives had been negotiating with Mr. Knight, but I certainly would be happy to have him join forces with me. He certainly does merit any of the state jobs so suited to his extraordinary talents. If I am elected, I'll see to it that his great abilities are used to the greatest possible advantage."

Speaker: Jockeying for the speakership of the House continues, with Democratic Majority Leader John McCormack (Mass.) conceded to be the front-runner. Only personal intervention by President Kennedy (a long-time factional enemy of McCormack's) can prevent the Bay State veteran from getting the job.

One thing, however, is certain. The next Speaker of the House will be a down-the-line-liberal. There will be nothing conservative, nothing "moderate" about his politics.

Eight House Democrats, including McCormack, are mentioned as the possible Speaker. They are characterized in the press as "moderate," go-slow Democrats.

Analysis of their voting records, however, would show them all to be favorites of the ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action and of Big Labor.

RALPH D. McLEAN, Editor, Directory of the Ministry, Springfield, Illinois: "If America wins in the struggle against Communism, a great share of the credit must go to HUMAN EVENTS."

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An ADA score card for the last session just released shows that each candidate voted the liberal line at least 50 per cent of the time. They are, in addition to McCormack, Albert, Boggs, Bolling, Elliott, Mills, Rains and Walter.

Republicans are standing aloof from the Democratic Donnybrook, but privately make no secret of their feelings about the speakership. They favor Arkansas' Wilbur Mills as the "most fair, most impartial of the lot." They do not deny Mills' generally liberal voting record, but they feel that he would not use the Speaker's chair for outright political warfare, would make impartial rulings and would respect GOP rights in the House.

Right-to-Work Aided: Right-to-work advocates, opponents of compulsory union membership, are encouraged by refusal of the US Supreme Court to review a ruling by the highest court in Kansas that the state's right-to-work law prohibits the "agency shop." The Kansas court held that the "agency shop" requirement of fees from non-members equal to union dues was too close to compulsory membership itself.

But it's admitted that the issue can arise again in the Supreme Court, and the tribunal could take a different stand. Lawyers for organized labor are working in that direction.

Hoffa and the Commies: Probing by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee into relations between James Hoffa and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' union is a continuation of efforts to establish a definite link of sympathy between the Teamsters' boss and Communist labor leaders.

The subcommittee has stated: "The racketeering leaders of the Teamsters Union have displayed an utter lack of concern about the Communist records and activities of the dominant officials of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union [headed by Harry Bridges] . . . The alliance is therefore brazenly and dangerously unprincipled."

Senator John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) and other subcommittee members have warned repeatedly that an alliance of racketeers and Communists is a grave danger to US safety from the Soviets.

Both the ILWU and the Mine-Mill union were expelled by the old CIO for Communist connections, while the Teamsters Union was thrown out by the AFL-CIO for corruption and racketeering.

Postscript to Bang-Jensen: The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee released a report last week casting serious doubt on a verdict by New York police that Danish Diplomat Povl Bang-Jensen committed suicide in November, 1959, when his body was found in Alley Pond Park, Queens, New York City, with a bullet in his head.

According to the report, the former United Nations employee may have been the victim of a Soviet "political murder dressed up as suicide." Suspended in 1957 by Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold for refusing to turn over to the UN a list of Hungarian refugees who had given testimony about the October, 1956, revolution in Hungary, the Danish diplomat was also known to have been approached by a would-be Soviet defector who claimed to have knowledge of secret Soviet spies in the UN Secretariat. The Soviet apparatus, says the report, may have wanted to liquidate Bang-Jensen for any knowledge he may have possessed on these matters.

The subcommittee report is skeptical of the suicide verdict, pointing to many discrepancies. No one, for example, has yet been able to explain away the Dane's note, left with his wife, declaring that "under no circumstances would I ever commit suicide."

Moreover, the medical examiner estimated Bang-Jensen's death occurred not later than noon on Wednesday, November 23, yet two witnesses in the area say that his body was not on the bridle path in Alley Pond Park until after dark, indicating that Bang-Jensen's body had been placed there by someone else after he died. In addition, Dr. Frederick Friedenborg, the Dane's psychiatrist, found the suicide verdict difficult to accept.

The subcommittee significantly points out that there have been a number of alleged suicides regarding either anti-Stalinist and/or anti-Communist persons. One of the most sensational involved the death of General Walter Krivitsky in Washington in 1941. The Metropolitan police claimed that this famous Soviet Russian defector died by his own hand and stressed that he had become despondent in his new American environment. But military intelligence circles in the Capital have privately been convinced that Krivitsky was actually murdered by Soviet military intelligence; the murderer was said to have been the same operative who got the Alger Hiss files from the State Department and who was vividly described in Whittaker Chambers' autobiography, *Witness*.

Egbert Murrow: From London, a HUMAN EVENTS correspondent reports that he heard the Voice of America treat Russia's resumption of atom tests in the following terms: "Khrushchev *with aching heart* consented to test again."

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What's Ahead?

The Political and Economic Climate

By Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, *Director, Economic Research Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States*

ANY discussion of the political and economic climate ahead must be concerned with both domestic and foreign factors.

Even if one were to conclude that the political and economic climate is deteriorating and degenerating, the disease may not be fatal. Such pessimism need not lead to despair for at least two good reasons:

(1) Trends rarely persist in one direction indefinitely; they may plateau or even reverse;

(2) In some cases, conscious action of a smart and intelligent nature on the part of those opposing current forces may cause trends to pause or even change direction, although in international affairs we have reached a near-impasse.

Public Policy Criteria

If one is determined to alter trends or to improve the political and economic climate, it is important to have basic bench marks, criteria or anchors by means of which to test *both* general and specific trends and current policy recommendations. The authors of the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution and of the Bill of Rights had clear-cut ideas of what they wanted; they were not confused and bemused as are most of us today. *In the absence of some such general but precise principles—some basic goals and methods—every new idea, whether put forward by a politician, union official or socio-political experimenter, fails to fall into place in an orderly fashion.* Then confusion takes over and divided counsel prevails.

As a specific example, recently our Committee on Economic Policy, wrestling with the problem of our targets, developed a report on *The Goals of Economic Policy* and was able to reduce these economic goals to five in number:

- Economic freedom
- Over-all economic efficiency
- Economic growth
- Economic stability
- Economic security

This comes to the opposite conclusions on key matters with former President Eisenhower's national commission on goals. It draws the line between "public" goals and government goals. These five goals embrace all economic goals; they may re-enforce one another, but to some extent they are in conflict. On controversial issues, a thorough grasp of these five goals, their harmony and their conflict, may lead to an improved resolution of differences and an improved political and economic climate; without some such anchors, confusion prevails and a cohesive and well-directed aggressive minority makes policy. The politician, long on promises and always adept at looking at only one or at most two goals at a time, can make himself out to be a hero, even though in the process he is weakening our society and deteriorating our international position.

Besides economic goals we also have other, non-economic goals, such as national security; government may be useful in attaining that goal and others.

But government is potentially dangerous because it has the power to tax (wring from the citizen involuntary contributions) and it has a monopoly of the use of force (it should have such a monopoly).

Concentration of power is the great threat to freedom. Where human freedom has failed, government has become the tyrant. The great enemy of mankind is overly concentrated government, a lesson which is being lost here and never learned in many, if not most, parts of the world. The purpose of a written constitution with a bill of individual rights is to reduce the dangers of what is now gripping the entire planet.

'Strong but Limited Government'

FOR this reason we need to have firmly in mind the proper structure, nature and function of government. We need strong but limited government.

Governments now absorb about one-third of our income. Government finance now rests on such a multitude of levies and so much upon indirect taxation (excises, payroll, corporate and withheld personal income taxes) that the taxpayer hasn't the vaguest idea of what he is paying (nor does the average taxpayer concern himself). This makes it easy to get public support (or even just public apathy—which is just as good from the politicians' viewpoint) for new spending programs and intervention, regardless of their merits. The alleged unmet government needs in our society would easily add up to the other two-thirds of our income. By 1970, governments will absorb over 40% of our income unless we develop a firm concept of limited government and evolve articulate support for this view. The political and economic climate of business will pass through much travail in the interim. Authoritarian government (with wage, price, investment and personal spending control) is not to be ruled out.

The major function of government should be the protection of individual freedom both from foreign and domestic enemies, to preserve law and order, to protect property and help to foster competition and economic stability through a sound credit and money policy. If government did these few things and did them well (and wasn't overloaded with side and minor issues), we would be far better off than we are by having government intervene on countless fronts as it now does.

Our central government has lost all sense of the distinction between nation-wide problems (fire control, juvenile delinquency, etc.) and truly national problems which can only be handled by the central government.

Beyond these basic functions, government may at times enable us to accomplish jointly things *which need doing* but which we cannot do through the free market or voluntary private effort. But any such enlargement of government functions is potentially fraught with danger. We should not depart from *the* basic function of government unless there is a clear and undoubted informed consensus for doing so. By leaving the great bulk of activities to private effort and voluntary co-operation, we can then be certain that the private sectors of our society will act as a check on the powers of government and provide an effective guarantee of freedom of speech, religion and thought—goals of political freedom which are, or should be, superior, even to economic freedom, even though many people in Asia,

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Eastern Europe and elsewhere have learned the hard way (and too late) that economic freedom (private property, occupational choice, consumer choice, investor choice, etc.) *is an essential and indispensable counterpart* of this larger personal freedom.

IF we are to have a sound political and economic climate, the next broad anchor is that government power should be dispersed and diffused. Suitable checks and balances should be built-in: a bicameral legislature, constitutional limits on the power of any one body, a judiciary which interprets the Constitution instead of catering, infant-like, to the whims of politicians and an executive who has some independence in suggesting and retarding legislation.

Furthermore, if government must exercise additional compulsory power it is better that it be near at hand at the local community level than at the county level, better in the county than the state, better by the state than in Washington. If you do not like what your local community does, you can move to another community; even though few citizens will take this step, the mere possibility acts as a check on arbitrary government. If a community or state offends, one can move to another. If Washington offends, there is no really open alternative. Thus, if we are to preserve freedom and improve the political and economic climate, the need for dispersing the power of government is obvious and this point has been well set forth by Felix Morley in his book, *Freedom and Federalism.* Under this approach mistakes will be small, major catastrophes will be minimized and more readily reversible.

Monolithic Approach

Those who want bigger government which will do more for the people (or who want to earn credits in a popularity contest) have, of course, a strong argument for by-passing local and state governments—a single law at the national level is easier to put through and enforce than to deal with a myriad of state and local governments. Such a uniform, monolithic approach, however, is wasteful and arbitrary, particularly in a large country with greatly divergent conditions and situations.

This argument for centralized government power has two sides: the power and authority to "do good" is also the power to do harm. What seems good to you, furthermore, may be evil to your neighbor. Those who wield the power and authority today may be replaced with scoundrels, or worse scoundrels tomorrow.

The great tragedy to the pell-mell drive, here and abroad, toward the centralization of power is that it is so often led by men of good will, but who do not know what good is, and who will be the first to denounce its consequences, once they are on the outside looking in—if they survive.

ONE basic and legitimate objection to undue bigness—whether in business, labor unions or agriculture—is its power to coerce, to compel or even threaten, by virtue of its bigness and power, the economic and other freedoms of the citizen. By government's becoming unduly big, the dangers are multiplied. The government has the power of coercion. But perhaps even more importantly, by subtle, indirect and devious ways, the government, as a big buyer, hirer, seller and money lender, and possessing the power to make money grants, can subdue thought, expression and criticism. You do not bite the hand that feeds you.

Many companies today find the government to be such an important customer that their officers are subdued into speech-paralysis on key issues affecting the future of our country. Government doesn't have to act or even threaten; its power to damage the enterprise is so great that the mere existence of the power is enough! You just don't offend a good customer.

Once the National Government becomes the important source of teachers' salaries, teachers will have to be cautious both in discussing educational questions and other public issues, whereas under local finance any teacher put upon can move over to the next county or city. The Hatch Act will cover more and more people, making them political eunuchs.

National Government Biggest In Everything

Today the national government is the *biggest* in endless lines—the biggest employer, landlord, landowner, forest owner, grazing landowner, mineral deposit owner; the biggest tenant, debtor, lender, warehouser, auto-fleet operator, publisher, insurance writer, grain owner and storer, power producer; the biggest single buyer of innumerable items; the biggest producer and controller of statistics (a basis of our economic intelligence), biggest mass opinion-maker, biggest deficit operator, biggest depositor in banks, biggest issuer of securities—the list is endless.

Futhermore, government, considering its relative size, is our fastest growing industry. It will dominate (if not dictate) our lives for as far as we can see into the future—unless informed opinion takes stock of the situation and is able to cause a halt. This all has profound implications for the future of our political and economic climate and our personal freedom.

MANY of these activities (plus the effect of controls and intervention) of government compete unfairly with the private effort of the citizen trying to make a living, and make the private market work less well, rather than better. Much of this intervention and competition is tainted with immoral and unethical practices or at least with such overtones.

The Post Office, for example, not only accounts for one-half of the rise in the public debt since 1946, but the deficits would have been much larger had the postal service paid property taxes on its assets, charged depreciation on its depreciable assets and paid for services rendered to it by other government divisions. Thus the real economic costs are falsified by the accounts and statistics.

Much the same could be said of Federal power projects. Accounting methods and investment-base allocations hide the facts from the public. A Senator from the Tennessee River Valley in a speech to a Washington area audience told his listeners that the test of the fairness of their electric rates would be the TVA rates. Either he was ignorant of TVA's subsidies and the accounting and statistical facts or he merely traded on the ignorance of his listeners. The Federal Power Commission and the Internal Revenue Service, furthermore, deprive the tax-paying investor-owned utilities of charging as part of their operating costs the expenses involved in setting forth the facts as they see them—another important liberty which has been lost, not to mention the basic question of freedom of speech and of the press.

Even though the average revenue per kilowatt-hour for residential use has dropped from about 3.8 cents in 1940 to under 2.5 cents in 1960, while the Consumer Price Index of the BLS has more than doubled, the electric power industry and its suppliers have political and economic climate problems. Now the anti-trust division of the Department of Justice has announced (according to *The Wall Street Journal,* May 24, page 1) that it wants competition among suppliers but not too vigorous competition!

One day later the same paper reported that the Department of the Interior now intends to invade the territory of private tax-paying utilities, a weird way to stimulate private investment and economic growth!

By turning economic affairs over to Congress and Federal bureaus, these affairs are not suddenly embraced by paragons of wisdom or virtue in Washington.

Look at such a basic matter as the integrity of

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the dollar, a peculiarly constitutional government responsibility. People have been encouraged to save and invest in insurance, in mortgages and in government bonds. Since the beginning of World War II, the buying power of the dollar has been cut away by more than half.

Government proudly boasts of its bank deposit insurance program, but it never warns the depositor—not even in the fine print—that the dollars deposited may be eroded by loose fiscal and monetary power. What is the moral difference between a bank robber who takes half your money and public policies which leave you with only half of your purchasing power?

WHAT of the wisdom or ethics of the government policies perpetuating agricultural programs which encourage fabulous misallocation of humand and other resources, lead to higher prices for the housewife and force the general taxpayer to transfer tax dollars to the farmers via the US Treasury, under the guise of helping the farm poor, *when as a matter of fact* the farm programs damage *them* more than they help them? What kind of economics would advise a compulsory rise in the legal minimum wage at a time when unemployment is a worry? Why should Administration spokesmen concerned with inadequate economic growth urge an OASI (Old Age Survivors Insurance) premium on retirement of men at age 62?

The gross inconsistencies in the economic or political economy philosophy and its egregious contradictions of the current Administration (and the Congress) based clearly on its own stated goals and objectives are tragic and if they continue can lead to dire consequence, at home and abroad.

The Eisenhower Administration long chafed under the 1918 4¼% Congressional price-fixing interest rate ceiling on public debt securities; it refused, deviously, to get around the control, when money markets became tight, by selling the securities at a discount. But the Attorney General last April ruled that such a devious way around the will of Congress is legal —go ahead as needed!

Government intervention in strike issues is likely to increase. Government intervention, or the intrusion of third-party arbitrators and recommenders of settlement, is virtually always against the consumer (as shown in *Economic Intelligence,* Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A., February, 1961).

Thus, in one area after another where government has intervened it has brought failure, chaos and inferior moral standards.

Turning more responsibility and decision-making away from the individual and private control and into government hands is said to give us wiser decisions, more ethical practices and a better life for all. This is a great myth; most people seem to be too bemused or too scared to challenge it.

This does *not* imply that private individuals or businesses are above reproach; when they violate economic law and use resources wastefully, the consumer marks them for liquidation. Government activities never have to meet the test of the market. When private business violates statutory law, it should be tried and suffer the penalty when found guilty under due process of law.

THE strength and virility of our society depend fundamentally on the character of our people and productivity of our private economic system. Instead of whittling away private decision-making and strangulating private effort, our public policies should encourage more effort, more innovation and more enterprise, relying on competition to pass the gains of productivity on to the people.

International Relations

In international relations our record and plight have reached a new and frightfully dangerous low. The new Administration promised much and delivered worse than nothing—although one should hasten to add that it inherited a mess from the previous Administrations going back more than 20 years, or at least back to the Yalta agreements of 1945.

With a rising Africa, ripe to fall into the Communist sweep, our domestic desegregation and integration policies could not have been better timed or designed to alienate nearly all of black Africa. Instead of encouraging voluntary desegregation and voluntary integration at the state and local levels, government stupidly has made these national and international problems and placed a liability upon us from which we will not recover for 100 years, if then. The more the national government forces the issue, the more talking points it is likely to provide to Moscow, Peiping and to the countries of Africa and to peoples in lands which we had counted upon as reasonably dependable allies. Central and South America ought to be our first concern, not the Congo, Iran, Laos or South Korea. Our first duty is to keep our own house in order; next we should be concerned with the nearest neighbors. The damage has been done. There is now no facile solution or even resolution to the problem.

After World War II we went emotionally all-out internationalist, having found that our policies of non-foreign entanglements after World War I did not yield the best results.

But now we have made military and economic commitments vastly beyond our capacity to deliver—the reverse being the very heart of a sound and viable foreign policy. We have raised the expectations of foreigners and foreign nations which are certain to remain unfulfilled. The Administration, in a process of incompetent self-delusion, is continuing to raise them.

Bismarck and 'Gratitude'

Because we are rich, big and strutting, we are the envy—and, therefore, the hated of the world—almost without exception.

In international relations there are no friendships; there are only interests. Even Bismarck, nearly 100 years ago, said that the word "gratitude" is not found in the international vocabulary. This our leaders for more than a generation did not know or understand and most of them still don't know it. George Washington understood it.

THAT the world is in a revolutionary ferment is in need of no documentation. Outside of most of the English-speaking countries and most of Western Europe, authoritarian and totalitarian (there is a difference) governments prevail and will prevail. Considering the conflict between political promises plus rising expectations and ability to deliver, such anti-parliamentary rule (anti-representative or republican government) is likely to continue so far as one can see ahead.

Dictatorship sometimes of the Right or the military, but mostly of the Left (or in the name of the Left), with shifts from pole to pole, will dominate in countries with some 90% of the planet's population; but our policy makers seem incapable of distinguishing between those dictatorships which are a direct and imminent threat to us and those which are not. Once these powerful, popular socio-political-economic movements get under way in a massive form, there is little or nothing that can be done to stop them—they have to burn themselves out.

This takes not years, but decades and probably generations. None of us likes this. It is not a pleasant conclusion, but it seems to be the most probable conclusion for most of the planet. Our government and opinion leaders who helped break up the colonial empires during and after World War II didn't have the insight to understand that when established insti-

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tutions, methods and rule are displaced, the vacuums will fill up.

Robert Ruark, in his best-selling *Something of Value,* used this Basuto (African tribe) proverb:

"If a man does away with his traditional way of living and throws away his good customs, he had better first make certain that he has something of value to replace them."

When Dictatorship Is Inevitable

If people are not dedicated to the concepts of the dignity of man, the rule of law, limited government and constitutional stability—values and institutions which we inherited from the English—dictatorship is inevitable. If a people does not understand the key importance of the philosophy of limited government and the dispersal and diffusion of power, and then blindly merges political and economic power (property, investment, production, employment, etc.) into the same and single government control (that is, create collectivism), society is destined for a loss of human freedom and for authoritarian rule.

Government in the United States is being led down this same road, chiefly by politicians and their henchmen (in government and outside) who are in competition with one another for public office and the emoluments thereof. Our commitments throughout the world, far in excess of our capacity to deliver, will make for bigger and bigger government. The tax burden will grow and grow—unless . . . the new Administration has acquired men of high IQ and educational attainments; but common sense and wisdom are not comparable as a whole.

Trends, as said previously, do have a way of pausing and reversing themselves. At times (only at times) is it possible by conscious, well-planned action to slow down or even reverse a trend.

Are the responsible and wise individuals in our country going to allow the country to be ruined and our freedom destroyed? The solutions are not obvious. Will they take the time and effort to establish the necessary seminars, study groups and self-assessment steps and facilities to diagnose the problem and then (only then) tailor the necessary counteractions for the disease?

A PEOPLE gets the type of leadership it deserves. The U. S. A. helped to enthrone Fidel Castro. Much of the press, particularly the "liberal" press, embraced him with excited emotional exuberance. Ed Sullivan on CBS and Jack Paar on NBC brought him to their TV viewers in a context which raised Castro to the level of a saviour, a demi-god; when "show biz" people get into the occupation of shaping international relations or policy, it is high time that we raise the right questions. It is no accident that the anti-Castro Cubans picketed the premises in May of 1961 of the New York newspaper with the slogan "All the news that's fit to print."

The rise of the intelligent, articulate conservative (not reactionary) movements such as Young Americans for Freedom on many college campuses, a growing conservative literature (both magazine and books), the development by the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. A. of economic understanding courses and of courses in practical politics—all these as examples are hopeful signs. But the primary purpose of all these movements should be individual self-improvement.

We need not less, but more "talking to ourselves."

If we cannot in private conversation or on the platform win the argument for human freedom, free men, the free market and the philosophy of limited government with an effective diffusion of power—then we need self-education.

Need Articulate Spokesmen

Just as any journey begins with a single step, so the fight for freedom must begin with the individual—for once we become well-informed, articulate and persuasive spokesmen, we will become the centers of influence. The most competent golfer, the most eloquent clergyman or the most gifted actor without fanfare or conscious publicity may naturally draw observers to himself *who are interested in their own self-improvement.* These uncommon men possess influence by virtue of their excellence. Self-improvement is your and my most important duty. Once this is more broadly understood, the adverse tide may weaken and turn, and then our values need not go down the drain. Then our political and economic climate will improve.

Must proponents of political and economic liberty, human liberty and diffused power be vanquished in open debate? If so (which we doubt), either:

(1) the basic principles of freedom are logically inconsistent or ethically indefensible;

(2) they are correct, but so difficult and so subtle, that they cannot be made persuasively in open debate; or

(3) they are defended badly by devotees of freedom.

Anyone familiar with the writings of John Locke, Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, John Stuart Mill, Lord Acton (who were Classical Liberals, not Conservatives) and other notable exponents of liberty would find (1) a false notion. However, (2) may have some validity. To comprehend the basic arguments concerning freedom, one must necessarily have a good grasp of the nature of law, of government and legislation, of economics and our economic system, none of them an "easy" subject. It would seem then, that if the proponents of freedom are vanquished in open debate, (3) is the main culprit.

In this connection, it is important to emphasize that government and liberty are not mutually exclusive, although legislation which lacks a clear consensus and, more particularly, discriminatory legislation (deviations from the *rule of law*) does in fact abridge human liberty.

Legislation and policies generally which promote competition, increase knowledge of the market, and lead to more effective mobility of resources are not inconsistent with, and they actually improve, the operation of a free economy.

The position of those dedicated to the rule of law and freedom is seriously weakened when it does not stand clearly on the side of more competition in all cases, but this would mean that one's friends and natural allies, on occasion, may be subjected to criticism.

This reluctance to give uniform support to the principle of competition in all features of economic life, and the soft-pedalling if not outright denial of a possibly constructive role for government measures within a constitutional framework, has probably contributed to the validity of (3).

If (3), that is, our deficiency in stating and defending the case for freedom is the key culprit, it is obvious that *we must improve ourselves first,* before we tackle those who, wittingly or unwittingly, are paving the way for the total-state. This is the lesson we need to learn and then act upon it.—Based on *Economic Intelligence,* April, 1961.

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HUMAN EVENTS

--- COMMENTARY ---

"A good leader inspires other men with confidence in him; a great leader inspires them with confidence in themselves."

—Anonymous

Vol. XVIII, No. 42 — Section III October 20, 1961

JFK Imitates FDR In Muzzling Military

PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY seems obsessed with the desire to reflect the image and tread in the footsteps of his political hero—Franklin Delano Roosevelt. One notable example of this FDR fixation is JFK's muzzling of military leaders who speak out for Americanism and against totalitarian government. The parallel? An all but forgotten fact is that, soon after the advent of FDR's

KENNEDY

ROOSEVELT

New Deal, a United States Army "Citizenship" training manual was withdrawn from Army posts and the Government Printing Office. It was an official 156-page War Department document, and had been in use since November 30, 1928. The manual disseminated the same type of information for which patriotic military men today are being gagged by the New Frontier.

For instance, in a National Archives copy of the manual HUMAN EVENTS tracked down recently, there was found a clear, concise and even a John Birch Society distinction between the terms "democracy" and "republic." The manual's definitions for those two terms—reflecting what the pre-FDR Executive Branch wanted the military to know about them—read as follows:

Democracy:

A government of the masses.

Authority derived through mass meeting or any other form of "direct" expression.

Results in mobocracy.

Attitude toward property is communistic—negating property rights.

Attitude toward law is that the will of the majority shall regulate, whether it be based upon deliberation or governed passion, prejudice, and impulse, without restraint or regard to consequences.

Results in demagogism, license, agitation, discontent, anarchy.

Republic:

Authority is derived through the election by the people of public officials best fitted to represent them.

Attitude toward property is respect for laws and individual rights, and a sensible economic procedure.

Attitude toward law is the administration of justice in accord with fixed principles and established evidence, with a strict regard to consequences.

A greater number of citizens and extent of territory may be brought within its compass.

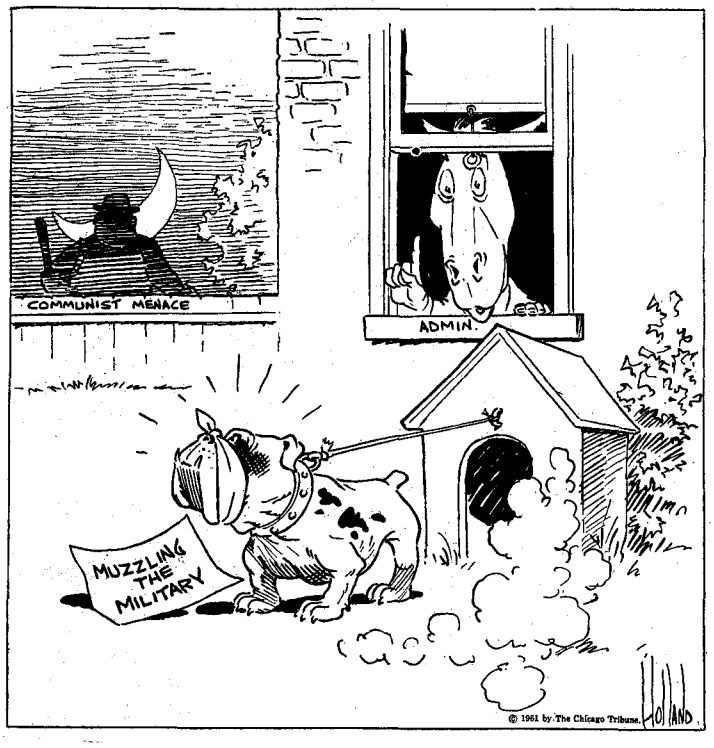
Avoids the dangerous extreme of either tyranny or mobocracy.

Results in statesmanship, liberty, reason, justice, contentment, and progress.

Is the "standard form" of government throughout the world.

It would be a safe bet that, under the New Frontier, the 1928 version of TM 2000-25 will not be resurrected for the education of our troops.

SSH! YOU'RE MAKING TOO MUCH FUSS



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Ribicoff Blows His Top

From the Washington Daily News

ABE RIBICOFF, head of the Government's catch-all Health, Education and Welfare Department, seems to have lost his perspective, despite his background as an astute politician.

When he appeared before the American Council on Education the other day, he tossed away the text of whatever he had intended to say and lashed out impulsively at his listeners, who were mostly college presidents and deans.

RIBICOFF

The gist of Mr. Ribicoff's ad lib blast seemed to be that the educators had not lobbied enough for the Administration's Federal-aid-to-education bill which lost out in the recent Congress.

"None of you," he said, "was interested in doing anything for all of education. And education was done in." This, of course was nonsense.

Defeat of the Administration multi-billion-dollar subsidy program for schools doesn't mean education is "done in." On the contrary, Federal aid, and its inevitable companion, Federal control of education, easily could hamper improvements in our system.

Just because a majority in Congress—and apparently a majority of the public—was opposed to Mr. Ribicoff's idea of how the public schools should be financed doesn't stamp everybody as an illiterate who is against education.

"How many in this room," the Secretary demanded of the college officials, "have sat down with their congressman and told him why education is important?"

We don't think anybody in this country, and especially in Congress, needs to be told of the importance of education, not even by Mr. Ribicoff. That importance is well recognized, as evidenced by the many billions in increased tax money provided for schools in recent years by states and local governments.

Mr. Ribicoff must have been eating sour apples.

The problem of the peoples of the world who today live under tyranny is not that they lack the natural right of self government, but that they are prevented by concentrated executive power from exercising that natural right. It makes no difference in the end whether that right was lost by force or whittled away by gradual surrender of legislative authority. It is my firm belief that those who surrender their rights in the belief that government is the provider of all good things are blind to the reality that government can give nothing in a material way that it has not first taken from the people. Our constitutional form of government cannot be strengthened by destroying its safeguards.

—Congressman Peter H. Dominick (R.-Colo.)

More Texans Join GOP

Early this month some 675 Texans in the Fort Worth area resigned from the Democratic party and joined the Republican party—in numbers and in enthusiasm which exceeded even the brightest hopes of the backers of the Fort Worth Resignation Rally.

The movement began several months ago at Littlefield in West Texas when 175 Democrats switched to the Republican party. Another 250 renounced Democratic policies a short time later at Harlingen.

The rallies are having repercussions among key Democrats, who are exerting pressures—both subtle and not so subtle—in a vain attempt to head off the movement. State Attorney General Will Wilson warned: "My advice to conservatives is to wait and see what the menu is before deciding at which table to take a seat."

Replied the GOP: "Democratic chefs can cook up only the same old stew or broth—no matter what fancy name they try to give it." And hundreds of Texas Democrats agree.

William A. Horan, who pioneered the Fort Worth program with a meeting of 50 to 60 people at his home two months ago, was chairman of that city's rally. Jack Cox of Breckenridge, who is viewed as a possible Republican candidate for Governor next year, gave the main address. Senators John G. Tower (R.-Tex.) and Barry M. Goldwater (R.-Ariz.) sent congratulatory messages.

The political eyes of Texas now turn to San Antonio where Republican John Goode is challenging Democratic State Senator Henry B. Gonzalez for the congressional seat vacated by Paul J. Kilday. Former President Eisenhower will speak in San Antonio in behalf of Goode prior to the November 4 election. (See opposite page for story about the Goode-Gonzalez race.)

Political Action Conference

HUMAN EVENTS will hold its third Political Action Conference on Friday and Saturday, January 5 and 6, 1962, at the Sheraton Park Hotel in Washington, D. C. "What You Can Do to Help Conservatives Win in 1962" will be the theme of the Conference.

Senators and Representatives and other political authorities will speak and answer your questions. Many persons who attended the two previous Conferences have already registered. Conference fees for all sessions, including breakfast, lunch and dinner on both days, are $75 each; $45 for additional members of the same immediate family (wives, sons, daughters), and for students, teachers and clergymen. Special rates—$10 for singles, $15 doubles—have been arranged at the Sheraton Park Hotel.

For information and reservations, write now to HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C.

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The GOP Challenges in San Antonio

Republican Goode vs. Democrat Gonzalez for Kilday's Congressional Seat

By Mary Lou Grier

(As Texas moves ever more surely toward becoming a two-party state, attention focuses on a special congressional election in populous Bexar County, November 4. Bexar County, which contains San Antonio, was one of five Texas counties boasting the state's biggest cities which cast a majority for Republican Senator John G. Tower last spring.

The now hotly-contested 20th Congressional District election was occasioned by the appointment of Democrat Paul J. Kilday to a Federal judgeship. Kilday has represented Bexar County, which forms Texas' 20th District, since 1939.

The Democratic party is backing State Senator Henry B. Gonzalez, the top Mexican-American in the state. It has been assumed he would be victorious because the county's population is about 40 per cent Latin.

The Republicans are backing John Goode, county GOP chairman. Hopes for Goode's success have been raised by Gonzalez's "bloopers," the latest of which was an attack upon "patriotism."

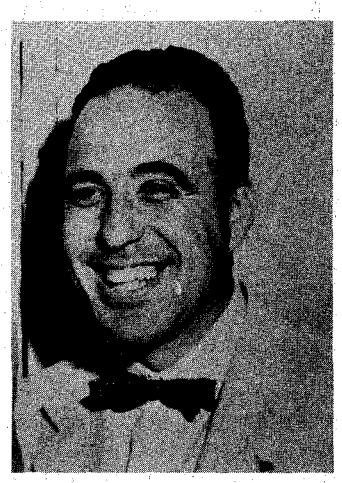
One consequence of Gonzalez's "blooper" was an angry retort in La Prensa *by Mary Lou Grier in her column, "As I See It."* La Prensa *"the voice of Spanish-speaking people in Texas," is published partly in English and partly in Spanish and is widely read by Texas' Latin-Americans. The column is printed in full below.)*

THE AMERICANISM SEMINAR sponsored by the San Antonio, Texas, Junior Chamber of Commerce, which was the subject of this column recently, has passed into history. The seminar, according to Jaycee spokesmen, was a success. We thought the closing speech Saturday would have ended discussion of this matter. It appears we were wrong.

The day following the end of the two-day seminar the two aspirants for the Congressional seat left open by the resignation of Paul Kilday met in a debate sponsored by the Temple Beth El Brotherhood. They were Republican John Goode and Democrat Henry B. Gonzalez. In a question session which followed opening statements by both men Gonzalez was asked his opinion of the seminar. He dismissed the question by quoting the oft-used words of Samuel Johnson, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

According to Mr. Webster a scoundrel is "—a mean, worthless fellow, a villain." Judging by the large crowds which turned out for both days of the seminar, San Antonio must be fairly crawling with scoundrels. Foremost in their ranks is Mr. Gonzalez's opponent, John Goode. Goode saw fit to carry his scoundrel tendencies so far during World War II that he enlisted in the Marine Corps. Not only did he enlist but he entered and graduated from officers' candidate school and was given command of a platoon of Marine infantry (every

GOODE



GONZALEZ

man of which was probably as much of a scoundrel as their lieutenant).

By the time this patriotic scoundrel had finished doing battle with the enemy at Cape Gloucester, New Britain, Peleliu and Okinawa he had displayed these patriotic tendencies, which so distress Mr. Gonzalez, in such a shocking manner that Lt. Goode earned two Purple Hearts, a Bronze Star and a Silver Star; the latter for "conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity against enemy Japanese forces on Peleliu."

Now this writer would be the last to deny that there have been in the past, and unfortunately still are, some men who have turned to an overt show of patriotism in order to further their own careers in one way or another. These "professional veterans" have done disservice both to the nation and their fellow veterans. But for a man who, as far as we have been able to determine, has never worn the uniform of any branch of the armed services to make light of other citizens' patriotism is in extreme poor taste.

I'm sure Mr. Gonzalez can justify his dislike of those who profess patriotism. It would be only right and fair to allow him the opportunity to do so. I would therefore like to propose that Mr. Gonzalez and Mr. Goode debate this matter face to face and before an audience representing such groups as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Catholic War Veterans and the Disabled American Veterans. Mr. Goode has already agreed to do this. Should his worthy opponent agree to do likewise such a debate will be speedily arranged.

Some years ago the manager of a National League baseball team dismissed the pennant chances of the then Brooklyn Dodgers with the facetious question, "Brooklyn; are they still in the league?" The Dodgers went on that year to eliminate from the league championship the team whose manager had made the crack and the manager was haunted by his own words as long as he remained in the major leagues. Somehow we think Mr. Gonzalez will be haunted in the same way by an ill-considered witticism.

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Socialism's Baited Trap

By Senator Barry Goldwater (R.-Ariz.)

THE OTHER DAY a friend of mine who should know what he's talking about was describing the methods used to effect the capture of wild monkeys. "We used large, narrow-necked, glass jugs," he said. "The mouth of the jug is large enough to permit the monkey to put his hand inside when his fist is opened, but too small to permit him to withdraw the fist after it is closed. We put several lumps of sugar in the bottom of the jar. The monkeys, eager for the treat, thrust their paws inside, close their fists over the sugar, and are trapped. They won't let go of the sugar and they can't withdraw their hands. Our people walk right up to them and capture them."

It seems to me the welfare staters are leading us into captivity by following a similar method. They put the sugar in the bottom of a jar; we reach in for it, refuse to let go, and are trapped. The bait is Federal aid to education—in order to get some of the sugar you must give up some of your freedom. Or the bait is Federal money for highways—in order to get the sugar you must conform to the dictates of the Bureau of Public Roads. Or the bait is free medical care—you must sacrifice the normal patient-doctor relationship.

The bait of socialism is something for nothing. It is clothed in noble phrases and lofty objectives, but its appeal is directed to man's greed. And because man is sinful and selfish and frequently lazy he puts his hand into the jar to reach for the sugar.

The Socialists, the welfare-staters and the super-planners all offer to build Heaven on earth for man. Furthermore they intend to lay out the streets and control the traffic when Heaven is established.

Socialism was a dismal failure when it was first tried. We tried it here in America in a number of notable experiments. It didn't work then and it won't work tomorrow because it contradicts and goes against the nature of man.

Remember the experiment under Governor Bradford when the Pilgrims put all they produced in a common larder and nearly starved to death? Who will continue to produce to the maximum of his ability when the indolent, the shiftless and the inefficient receive an identical reward without working, without producing?

The monkeys may be happy in captivity. At least the sugar is a desirable sweet not available to them unless they reach into the bottle.

But the sugar used by the Socialists to bait the trap for free men is first taken from the labor of free men by the force of government tax compulsion. If we surrender to this beguiling bait, we are more stupid than the monkeys for the sugar in the bottom of the jar belongs to us in the first place.

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Aiding the Underdeveloped

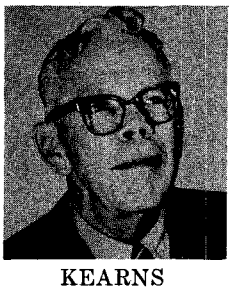
From the Omaha Evening World-Herald

On his recent junket to Africa, Attorney General Robert Kennedy presented the President of West Africa's Ivory Coast an airplane for his private use. Congressman H. R. Gross of Iowa reports the plane cost the American taxpayers $73,681, and that the State Department says identical planes are on order as Independence-day gifts for the heads of three other African states.

We wonder, along with Mr. Gross, just how such personal gifts "from the American people" to the African rulers are going to help develop the "underdeveloped" people of the Dark Continent.

Congressman Kearns' Taped Interview—$7

Carroll D. Kearns, Republican from the 24th district of Pennsylvania, is the guest on this week's Congressional Interview. Now serving his eighth term in Congress, Mr. Kearns is ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Education and Labor, and a member of the special subcommittee to study the impact of foreign imports on the US economy. In a discussion of this question, Mr. Kearns points out that the increasingly unfavorable balance of trade is endangering domestic manufacturers, transportation, industry and labor.



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Edgar W. Hiestand
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Vol. XVIII, No. 42—Section IV HUMAN EVENTS October 20, 1961

Misreading American History

By Skepticus

UNLESS THE LESSONS of all these ubiquitous "international crises" are completely lost on our national leadership, we ought to be hearing less and less about the United States being "a revolutionary country and a revolutionary people" (President Kennedy); and about how we must avoid being "linked with the forces of reaction and stagnation" (Chester Bowles); and that "unless we march with this revolution, unless indeed we share in leading it, the future it will one day shape may have no place for us" (Adlai Stevenson).

Such talk hasn't made any sense for a long time, but at long last events must have forced even the three individuals *quotes supra* to understand, however reluctantly, that their assignment is to do what Dean Rusk declared as recently as last February we would never, never do—"undertake an active defense of the *status quo.*" Survival demands recognition of a truth which theorists sneer at—that the United States is not a revolutionary country at all, but what has been called a "satisfied power," whose interest is to maintain "things as they are." This assumes, of course, concern for orderly progress and promotion of economic growth and workable political systems but calls for a roll back of the revolutionary forces that our liberals have had so much fun playing with.

Even Junior Schlesinger is not likely to want replays of that line about how Castro "betrayed the revolution" in Cuba, because from now on the Kennedy Administration will be compelled to act on the plain evidence, rejected by Eisenhower's State Department, that the Castro revolution was a Communist *putsch* from the beginning, conceived in Moscow, nourished in Mexico and delivered in the USA, with the New York *Times'* Herbert Matthews as midwife. Our interest in Cuba was the maintenance of orderly government, with respect for US property interests in the island, under a regime tolerant of our security requirements in the Caribbean. According to the testimony of two of our Ambassadors to Cuba, we could have helped the Cubans inaugurate such a regime minus Batista, but this "join the revolution" nonsense had the State Department so hypnotized that nothing but Castro would do.

The propaganda designed to equate Communist-fomented upheavals among the "lesser breeds without the law" with the American Revolution was idiotic in the first place. As Professor Arnold Whitridge, formerly of Yale, put it, "our Revolution was a family quarrel fought between white men for the benefit of white men." One would think from much current babble on the subject that the Revolution was fought for the benefit of the Indians! In his *In Defense of Colonies* (George Allen and Unwin), Sir Alan Burns points out that "at the time of the American Revolution few people seriously considered that the aboriginal Red Indians (or the African slaves) had any political rights, or that the Red Indians had any inherent right to the lands which the white colonists coveted."

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION was a taxpayers' revolt against the British Government's fatheaded effort to force the colonies to help Britain balance her budget. As the late Professor Charles M. Andrews noted years ago in *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution* (Yale Press), the leaders of the colonial cause, even including Franklin, attempted to steer these justifiable complaints toward some compromise. "Manufacture as much as possible and say nothing" was Ben's advice. However, the British cabinet managed to parlay the tax battle into a war—for the benefit of a rising imperialism and against the interests of British traders, whom Pitt described as "little, paltry, peddling fellows, vendors of two-penny wares and falsehoods, who under the idea of trade sell everything in their power—honor, truth, conscience."

These "little, paltry, peddling fellows" would probably have been willing to settle for almost anything in order to build up customers in the American colonies. Indeed the Revolution had an astonishing amount of support in England. John Fiske in his *Critical Period in American History,* which ought to be read more than it is these days, states that "the Whigs did all in their power to discourage enlistments and in various ways so thwarted and vexed the government that the success of the Americans was by many people ascribed to their assistance." Indeed the matter could doubtless have been settled with a reasonable amount of good will had reasonable men in both countries found a way to settle anything.

Anyhow there is no historical justification for identifying the leaders of 1776 with the Sukarnos, Nkrumahs, Mao Tse-Tungs, Castros, and other contemporary revolutionaries. The intense nationalism of Sam Adams and the Sons of Liberty, which often embarrassed the more cautious leaders of the colonial cause, had little in common with the kind of revolution going on today or even with the kind of revolution that convulsed France a few years after our own fracas. Not even the post-war bitterness toward England enlisted much important American support for the violent revolutionaries of the continent. Not even Jefferson—a more persuasive advocate than Chester Bowles—could sell us on the virtues of the *sans culottes.*

But the best indication of what the men who fought the British from 1775 to 1783 thought they were doing is not so much what was said during the war or in the period of tension preceding it, or even in the stirring words of the Declaration of Independence itself. Those who look upon the Revolution as a sort of prelude to the liberation of Angola should put in some time reading the story of the making of the US Constitution. This document, hammered out undemocratically "behind closed doors," set up

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a system of government about as nearly revolution-proof as a group of mostly conservative and conspicuously able English gentlemen could make it.

James Madison, in his notes on the proceedings of the convention of 1787 in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, records himself as saying this:

> "In all cases where a majority are united by a common interest or passion, the rights of the minority are in danger. What motives are to restraint them? The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere and thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests and parties that in the first place a majority will not be likely at the moment to have a common interest separate from that of the whole or of the minority, and in the 2nd place, that in case they should have such an interest, they may not be apt to unite in the pursuit of it. It was incumbent on us then to frame a republican system on such a scale and in such a form as will control all the evils we have experienced."

Hence "checks and balances." Far from supporting revolution, the Founding Fathers, who had seen anarchy and collapse at close range, had little use for pure democracy. Madison regarded democracies as "incompatible with personal security or the rights of property." He believed that democracies "have in general been as short in their lives as they have been violent in their deaths." John Adams, who as a young lawyer had defended the British soldiers involved in the "Boston Massacre," said as President: "There never was a democracy that did not commit suicide."

WHEN THE MORE RECENT revolutionary forces which deserved American support, if only on the low level of self-interest, arose, our kibitzers of revolution were silent. The Hungarians who rose against Communist tyranny in 1956 might have fared better had the United States been as quick to recognize Nagy, the head of the revolutionary regime, as the State Department was to recognize Castro three years later. Conceivably such a gesture from Washington might have kept Soviet tanks at home. A direct challenge to this country was probably more than Khrushchev cared to undertake. Promising revolts against Red dictatorship in Poland and East Germany got only editorial support over here. Indonesia's suppression of the Moluccas is ignored, and the peripatetic Sukarno, who quotes Jefferson when in Washington but speaks his principles when in Moscow, is greeted by President Kennedy as the "father of his country"! There have been some curious omissions in the list of revolutionaries considered worthy of our Big Hello.

We have bawled out Portugal, Belgium, France and the Netherlands: indeed taken an active part in support of revolutions in their areas. The supposition, largely based on the mistaken theory that we are a revolutionary country, has been that "world opinion" required this meddling. But are we happier with Sukarno in Indonesia than we were with the Dutch? Is it likely that our interests, or those of the Congo, will be furthered if all Belgians are compelled to leave the area? The more responsible Congolese do not think so. Some of them doubtless agree with Charles T. O. King of Liberia who, as Liberia's representative at the United Nations, said that his country had not grown as rapidly as Ghana because Liberia had always been free and "had never reaped the advantages of colonialism."

Even an "unsatisfied country" ought to hesitate before supporting United Nations interference in such matters. Are we prepared for a UN resolution expressing disapproval of segregated education in the South, followed perhaps by a demand that we do something about it? If an Indian neutralist can use force against anti-Communist leaders in the Congo, why not a Czech task force to round up the John Birch Society?

OF COURSE CHANGES are being made and not even a "satisfied country" can ignore them. But the effort to fool ourselves and others into "believing that the United States should be out in front of the world revolution, even at the cost of breaking our ties with the civilized countries of Europe, in order to make time with primitive tribesmen, has been a strategic and moral mistake. During the 1960 campaign William S. White cut loose in his column with words which now seem prophetic. Mr. White noted the various areas in which the "bad old colonials" had been put to flight, leaving "large sections of the world either in chaos—a chaos for which the word 'democracy' is a sentimental fraud—or ready to fall into the Soviet sphere. Moreover they have broken the western alliance, in truth if not in formality.

"For all this we may thank a professional-liberal passion for a politics which assumes not that the races are of equal value before God and the law—as indeed they should and must be—but rather that all wisdom and all virtue rests within the colored peoples alone." Mr. White attributed the adoption of this nonsense, which nobody really believes, to "racist demagoguery that has already all but paralyzed our policies abroad."

The poor critters we have been trying to shill with this silly propaganda don't fall for it anyway. They take our dough and our flattery and still call us "imperialists." Our allies are naturally disturbed and angry men stone our embassy in Lisbon for supposedly backing the Communists, while in Moscow they stone our embassy for backing Batista, as if Rubottom and Herbert Matthews had never existed.

So now poor Mr. Kennedy has to say "To Hell with Harvard, Adlai and Bowles!" and get on with the job, carrying out policies dictated by events, whatever his liberal advisors say about it. He isn't likely to find much in common ground between US interests and those "revolutionary forces now sweeping over the world." His job is to defend the *status quo*.

It's all very tough on the President, because it isn't all his fault. Nevertheless he must have nightmares now and then when living over some of those campaign speeches.

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Decline of The Fourth Estate

By Walter Trohan

FOR MANY YEARS the American press corps gloried in the term Fourth Estate. There was a solemn pride that although members of the press ranked behind the political rulers, the clergy and the commons, they constituted the honor guard of liberty. Politicians, even when personal relations were of the friendliest, were regarded as the natural enemies of freedom. Members of the press stood ever ready to tear down politicians from the high places they too frequently erected for themselves by greed, corruption and hypocrisy. At all times the press was prepared to do battle against abridgment of its own freedom in the secure conviction that any such limitation could only lead to the loss of national liberty.

Of late years, especially in Washington where a thousand newspapermen ply their trade, there is mounting suspicion that members of the press have begun to grow weary of the exacting watchdog role and have been attaching themselves to the First Estate, the ruling class. The more kindly observers of this phenomenon believe reporters (in their zeal to comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable) have been swept into cross currents of politics beyond their depth. Less kindly and more acid observers believe newspapermen are confusing the First Estate with the first profession. "Most newspapermen are whores," Harry Truman once observed sententiously to a former Senate colleague.

Certainly, it would seem true that many newspapermen feel they must, like whores, unpack their hearts with words, and fall acursing like very drabs, to paraphrase Hamlet. Yet, they curse not those in power, but those who would curb their grasp, even as they claim to being true liberals. And what is more strange, they fall into cursing one another—beating their thumbs on their typewriters, more often than not the same thumbs from which they suck many of their ideas.

The simple truth is that the press has given up on fact-hunting for the less arduous and frequently more profitable role of interpreting what has gone before and predicting what is to come, in conformity with the Administration's pattern.

The temptations to abandon reporting in favor of revealing are many. It must be understood that not all reporters are venal or pink. But few survive the siren-singing or pressure of the Administration. The great majority of Washington correspondents earned their place in the Capital by distinguished reporting on their hometown newspapers or in scattered press association bureaus.

Most of them come to Washington regarding the show as something like the courthouse gang at home, only bigger. What mysterious alchemy, then, transforms a good reporter into the Washington parrot?

A MEASURE of responsibility can be attributed to the bewilderment and laziness to which we are all heir, but far more important is the grand design of those in power to capture the news columns, leaving the thunder on the "right" to the staid editorial page. This design is advanced by newspapermen who take jobs in Federal service as press relations men. These are aided and abetted by members of the so-called working press, who want no competition. A reporter can make himself highly unpopular in Washington by working, especially by working alone. There is some question whether a Capital columnist is actually more despised by his fellow newspapermen because he breaks much inside news than because of his inaccuracy and axe-grinding.

Naturally enough, the new reporter finds Washington bewildering. He is grateful to find his colleagues, especially his opposition, rushing to lend him every aid instead of offering the cut-throat competition he weathered at home. In no time he finds himself in the position of refusing to scoop his pals, and they remain secure and happy in the knowledge that he is one of them. In time he may work himself into one or another of the "black-sheet gangs" that flourish around newspaper office corridors; these exchange carbon copies of their "think" pieces or minor beats fed by some Administration source.

Or he may find himself invited to join cliques whose members interview one another on national and international developments and pass them off as Washington thinking, with the implication that it is official thought. Finally, if he parlays friendship well, he may reach the dizzy heights of being quoted by his colleagues as "able" or "informed" or "brilliant" or "outstanding" or any of the cliches in the old press room game of backscratching.

Long before this, the reporter will have discovered it is far easier to run through the grist of official handouts than to grub for news. It is only a turn

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of phrase that separates the news in a handout from the Administration line. Once a reporter convinces himself that he can bring readers great news from these handouts, he has little or no compunction in lengthening the stride of his dispatches to take in the propaganda. And he does not have to fear being caught as did the [West Point] cadet cribbers. Time comes when he has nothing to fear but failure to take the Administration line.

The Administration pay-off is pleasant but none the less sinister. If the Administration line is followed assiduously enough, the reporter is invited into friendship with an official. He finds himself a great writer, his writing ability increasing in geometric progression to the propaganda content. It is not difficult to convince a reporter that it isn't the news but the way he writes it that counts. It is not difficult to convince him that he is a true champion of "liberalism." Especially when he finds that those who hew to the line most consistently are acclaimed as journalistic greats in the butcher paper organs of pseudo-liberalism, and when he becomes aware that Pulitzer prizes go to reporters taking handouts from law firms defending loyalty suspects or from a foreign nation.

ADMINISTRATION officials become Tom, Dick or even Harry to the reporter. It is then that the Administration has him in its power. Only one step remains for the reporter to deliver himself up as a captive of the philosophy of those in power, and that is to sell the official an idea. Once he sells a project he binds himself to the Administration, which accepts it more certainly than if he had sealed a blood bond. Intimacy with great names is but a phase of the social trap for the press which has developed in the past twenty years.

Potomac fever is as virulent a disease among the press as it is among politicians. All too easily reporters learn to sing for their suppers and their cocktails. The reporter who does not go along finds his mail heavy with bills and light with invitations. Reporters, who laughed at society pages at home, begin sprinkling their own names in Capital society columns. They send their children to private schools and launch their daughters in debuts.

Informal and select seminars are a method of putting over the Administration line. An official calls a favored reporter and asks him to set up a group for an off-the-record examination or report on a situation. The reporter invites those he expects to invite him in turn to other gatherings. The official gets across his line without identifying himself with it. The reporter writes his editor that his story comes straight from the mouth of the great official himself, neglecting to mention that anywhere from one to two dozen others got the same pap at the same time. This is the ultimate of the social pay-off.

The pay-off includes invitations to junkets abroad to observe this or that giveaway program, with all expenses paid. The reporter is told he is free to write anything, but if he does not write what Washington likes, invitations do not come in the future. In the same way a reporter who persistently asks pointed questions no longer finds himself called by his first name by officials. He learns not to ask embarrassing questions. But if he behaves well, the Administration will plant questions with him as a special mark of favor.

The final pay-off is, of course, the sell-out—a permanent or temporary post with the government. Those who go with the government become professed propagandists. Those who serve on leave from their papers spend the rest of their careers on their return to newspaper writing justifying their sell-out.

In the press services, the pay-off is standard policy. Reporters are instructed to play ball with the Administration to get news. If they do not, they find that important releases are given out when they are not around, which can be fatal when beats are measured by seconds. Press association men are drilled into discarding material unfavorable to the Administration. They call such material "editorializing." Officials who would hesitate to dress down a reporter for a paper have no compunction in complaining against coverage by press services on the ground of "objectivity." If the story isn't loaded for them, officials complain it was not impartial. Press service reporters, as a rule, cannot count on the support of their chiefs, such as is available to newspaper correspondents representing individual papers.

The surrender is not yet complete. There are good men and true in the press corps; and it will always number among its membership a proportion of those who will not compromise the code that has glorified the Fourth Estate. But, the grim note of warning cannot be disregarded.

(Editor's Note: This piece was first published by HUMAN EVENTS *on December 5, 1951. We are reprinting it so as to present a prominent newspaperman's analysis of how the White House seeks to brainwash the public with its own propaganda. Mr. Trohan, now Chief of the Chicago* Tribune's *bureau in Washington, says that the article, which was true and accurate in 1951 under Truman, is similarly accurate in describing the pattern existing today.)*

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Vol. XVIII, No. 42 — Section VI HUMAN EVENTS October 20, 1961

Kennedy vs. the Public's Right to Know

By Congressman William E. Miller
Chairman of the Republican National Committee

(Editor's note: The following piece consists of excerpts from an article by Republican National Committee Chairman William E. Miller in the October 7 issue of Editor & Publisher. Editor & Publisher *has offered White House Press Secretary Pierre Salinger equal space in which to answer Miller's charges that the Administration has been bottling up important news while at the same time "spraying the press with artificial and leaked material.")*

SHOULD a Presidential press secretary be a qualified public servant whose primary function is fulfilling the people's right to know?

Or do the American taxpayers employ him to operate as a puff artist and political censor?

The answer is obvious. It applies not only to White House spokesmen but to their colleagues throughout government.

This Administration has shown, however, that it couldn't care less. It is too busy bottling up hard news while spraying the press with artificial and leaked material.

To start from the beginning, the information stew first boiled up at the Pentagon. In February the Kennedy Administration in effect admitted that the "missile gap" was the grand deception of the 1960 campaign. The lid flew off when Secretary McNamara, in a background briefing for newsmen, supported former President Eisenhower's position that no gap existed.

News stories sprouted. [White House Press Secretary Pierre] Salinger challenged the integrity of the writers, calling their stories "inaccurate."

President Kennedy was evasive at his news conference. After hammering at the definite existence of a missile gap in the 1960 campaign, he now told reporters it would be "premature" to conclude there was one.

In March Assistant Defense Secretary for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester slapped down the Chicago *Sun-Times* for reporting that Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General Lyman Lemnitzer had complained in writing that Kennedy's new Pentagon appointees were skirting the Chiefs on critical defense decisions.

"Without foundation," Sylvester branded the story. Within a few days it was verified by Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell Gilpatric.

I have observed that newsmen, editors and publishers show a high degree of responsibility toward classified data. Certainly their record during World War II and the Korean conflict sets an example. But almost all of the current gripes of Washington reporters concern handling of non-classified material.

"Pentagon News Blackout?" was the title of the black-covered *Army, Navy, Air Force Register* for June 17 which carried a dossier of the less-than-candid dealings at Defense.

"There's an air of secrecy, of censorship," reported the *Navy Times* in April from the Pentagon.

Over at the White House, newsmen are trying to do their jobs under a catch-as-catch-can press relations system. The hazards of favoritism, secrecy and a gay, offhand approach to accuracy are ever-present. The New York *Daily News* listed a few of Salinger's lapses:

"A Salinger announcement that President Kennedy planned to have dinner at the White House with Speaker Rayburn and Vice President Johnson, but no mention that there would be others present, one a newspaper columnist, the other a newspaper publisher.

"Failure to disclose that the President was lunching with 22 guests, including congressional leaders, for a discussion of the Geneva nuclear test ban talks. When limousines began passing the White House gate the facts were finally disclosed.

"Suppression of a letter from the President to heads of all regulatory agencies asking monthly reports to the White House on 'principal activities.' The letter, dated February 7, was released March 14, only after it had been published in the *Wall Street Journal.*

"An effort by Salinger to prevent the freest access to news of the Key West Kennedy-Macmillan conference by barring the White House correspondents of four newspapers from a background briefing."

AT PALM BEACH last May reporters were told not to expect any news of maior import. But at a private dinner on May 13 Salinger gathered together a selected group of favored newsmen and leaked plans for the Kennedy-Khrushchev parley.

The shut-out White House correspondents tried frantically during the ensuing week to confirm this story of vital public importance. Salinger denied daily for almost a week what he had revealed to his inner circle. "There are no plans for any such meeting at present," was Salinger's way of dividing first and second-class correspondents.

A sprightly new game called "factball" has been added to the Salinger briefings. Queried for routine background facts on a story under discussion, he is likely as not to toss back:

"Does anybody know?"

If a member of the press fields the answer, fine. If he doesn't, *c'est la vie.* Reporters are out of luck.

While the iron hand of secrecy operates in the hard news department, toot-and-tell artists pipe merrily elsewhere, puffing up a blizzard of handouts.

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Recently a special White House meeting was called to turn the entire Federal establishment into a publicity mill for John F. Kennedy—financed by the taxpayers, of course. Excerpts from a Commerce memo typify the word circulated in all Departments:

"At a White House meeting we have been advised again that speeches of Cabinet and sub-Cabinet officers do not contain sufficient reference to the President. It is to be kept in mind that, in announcing local projects, the President should be given a credit line in the lead paragraph."

"Incorrect," said Salinger, but later confirmed to the Associated Press by Cabinet Secretary Fred Dutton.

GLORIFYING the President and Palace Guard hit new crests when the US Embassy in Ottawa issued suggested material for Canadian reporters to use during the Kennedys' visit. A few items:

On the President: "a glamorous political figure."

On Mrs. Kennedy: "totally different from any traditional image of the President's wife."

On Salinger: "a dynamo who resembles tireless competence in motion—a jaunty chunk of a man whose affable manner covers a steel trap mind—precocious since childhood, Salinger is accustomed to outdistancing his contemporaries."

In the closing days of Congress the Moss subcommittee on freedom of information issued its report. As expected, its two-to-one Democratic majority glowed with praise for Kennedy policies. And, as expected, Republican members registered dissent.

Somehow, the Moss report, among other things, overlooked the cry of anguish from *Aviation Daily* on September 8:

"Because of a questionable Defense Department policy of letting members of Congress know about the signing of contracts in advance of 'official' releases to the news media, contractors are losing control over a phase of contracting that could even involve legal penalties.

"In earlier practice, this courtesy to Congress has inevitably tended to have its partisan overtones. But, under the Kennedy regime, it has exceeded all reasonable bounds. It has degenerated to an abjectly unprincipled use of legitimate news as a sort of partisan political spoils—used without ethics or conscience.

"In several recent 'premature' releases such sources have come dangerously close to violating stringent Federal codes aimed at preventing unethical stock market speculation.

"The net result of this 'clever' Administration pandering of news for its favorites has been to degrade news quality to dangerously low limits."

In Administration quarters reporters are classified "for" or "against." A newsman considered hostile often finds himself scratching for crumbs. Pressures on reporters caused the Salt Lake *Tribune* to editorialize:

"One reporter was called into the White House woodshed Thursday for sending a detailed though factually accurate account about who helped pick up the tab for this week's party at Mount Vernon for President Mohammed Ayub Khan of Pakistan. A few days ago President Kennedy himself spent more than a half hour on the telephone complaining about a critical analysis in a weekly news magazine."

Perhaps the Administration's crassest attempt to use newsmen as propaganda pipelines came in mid-September when a group of some 30 Washington correspondents met secretly at the home of a reporter for a favored Kennedy paper. They were to receive an off-the-record briefing from the White House.

Among those not invited: the Los Angeles *Times*, Dallas *News*, Detroit *News*, Chicago *Tribune*, Kansas City *Star*.

To the meeting came White House staffers Ted Sorensen and Larry O'Brien, armed with a five-page memorandum setting forth the "line" on the Kennedy Administration's "success" in the 1961 session of Congress. The document modestly claimed that Kennedy had done three times as well as the first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration.

At background briefings information ordinarily is supplied with the understanding that the source not be named. Stories based on such interviews do, however, include "High administration officials think" or similar attribution for the reporter's protection.

According to one newsman, however, "The Sorensen briefing advanced the propaganda technique one step beyond what has hitherto been attempted. Under his rules the material he supplied was to be presented as the product of the writer's own research. Its White House source was to be concealed."

It was a sort of "look-ma-no-hands" attempt to brainwash the press and public.

To the credit of the assembled newsmen, most of them did not buy it. While there, Sorensen also upbraided one of Washington's best newsmen for writing a factual story about the 1961 congressional session.

This is only a portion of the saga of news management Kennedy-style. Under it the news media suffer but the greatest loss is borne by individual Americans who find themselves on the receiving end of something less than the whole truth.

Their right to know is being cruelly eroded and will continue to be until this Administration comes to regard information as a public trust rather than a political puff operation.

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